361 Inonda lies in Buna census division, the most sparsely settled part of the Popondetta sub-district (with the exception of Huhurundi). Apart from an ex-servicemen's settlement block, there are only four villages within a three mile radius of both village sites (see Map 5). At the beginning of the survey, Inonda was on a site it had occupied since 1956, but during 1964 it was rebuilt about a mile to the south-west, still on the forest-grassland border.

491 The village is about ten miles from Popondetta, to which it is 368 linked by a good all-weather road. About three miles towards 131 Popondetta, west of the Girua River, is Hohota village and its off-shoot settlement, Ijika, where there is a local government council aid post, a church and attached primary school (with classes to standard III), and a trade store. Running north-east from the main road parallel to the Girua River is a line of ex-servicemen's settlement blocks - one expatriate - and eleven Papuan-owned, one of them 366 by a former resident of Inonda and several others from nearby villages. There are five trade stores on or near the blocks, two 368 of them expatriate-owned, and a new Administration school. This 133 latter is not used by the Inonda people, although they believe it 508 to be a higher standard than the mission school. Eastwards from Inonda, the road runs through sparsely-populated grass plains to the coast at Oro Bay. Late in 1964 the Popondetta airstrip was 494 closed and a wartime tarmac strip two miles east of the village was reopened to serve the township, with a consequent increase in traffic along the main road.

102 MAP 5
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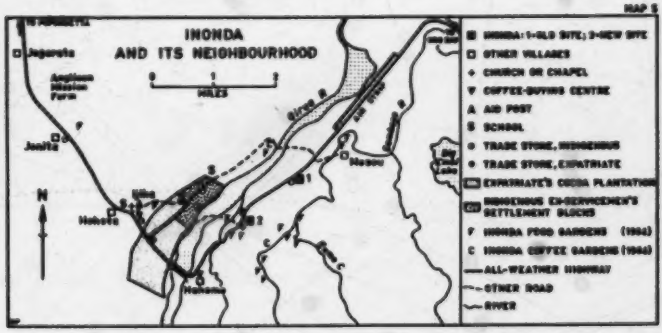

informal 'company' was formed to operate the enterprise. There were sixteen shareholders, all residents of A's hamlet or the absent sons of residents. A contributed $144 in cash while the others contributed $10 each. This money is used as working capital and placed in a Cocoa Account at the savings bank. It is controlled by A's eldest son, who is referred to as chairman of the company and is generally responsible for the handling and marketing of produce.

Wet cocoa beans were bought from villagers from moneys in the Cocoa Account at 3 cents per pound and fermented and dried. They were shipped through a local trading firm and sold on the London market. The fermentary has not been very successful because most villagers outside A's hamlet sold to a European fermentary which collected the beans and paid a higher price. Another, and perhaps more important, reason that the local fermentary was not patronised lay in tensions and divided loyalties within the neighbouring villages. From early 1962 until May 1963 only 7,080 pounds of wet cocoa beans were processed using the temporary fermentary. No later figures are available but the credit balance in the Cocoa Account rose from $174.07 in June 1963 to $470 in January 1966.

All four entrepreneurs aspire to owning a motor vehicle. A's early attempts were declined by officials,[1] and his attempt to establish a bus service in 1963 (for which he had sufficient finance) was thwarted when the only licence was granted to an expatriate. He still gives top priority to buying a vehicle for his own cartage and for hire. B had the funds but not the driving skill.

The difficulty of acquiring a skill such as driving is often overlooked. For a person in a rural area it is usually necessary to go to a town and get a job. Even then one may spend several years in an unskilled job without getting the opportunity to learn to drive. Few Papuans have vehicles and most people are naturally reluctant to allow others to practise on their vehicles. B's son has now tried unsuccessfully for three years to find an opportunity to learn to drive. C and D have each been seeking a cheap second-hand vehicle for some time, but the likelihood of establishing a successful carrying business is doubtful, for overheads are high, business would probably be irregular and many of the potential customers would have difficulty in paying. In the long term, as incomes rise, there will certainly be openings for such ventures. In the meantime, however, there is a danger that a transport business would survive only if it was subsidised in part at least from

[1] Official approval was then necessary for indigenous people to go into debt.

income derived from cash-cropping and trading. Prestige may be an even more important motivation to the acquisition of vehicles than it is with trade stores.

Other property

As shown in Table 3 the entrepreneurs have tools to the average replacement value of $30 and equipment associated with their cash-cropping to an average replacement value of $180 - an average of $210 per man. By comparison Orokaiva people of Inonda village had only about $13 and Sivepe village about $18 worth of tools and equipment per household.[1]

The entrepreneurs all had a range of consumers durable goods far beyond that found in villages. A and B owned bicycles worth about $50 each, A and D each had a radio which cost $60 and $47 respectively, and A and D also each owned wood-burning stoves costing about $70 each. The wife of C had a sewing machine which cost $70 (not listed in the table of tools and equipment as it is used only for domestic purposes). All had kerosene lamps and three of the four had clocks or watches. The average replacement value of the above items was in the region of $125 per man. It is estimated that possessions of this kind in Orokaiva villages in which we worked would average about $10 per householder.

The houses of the entrepreneurs are all somewhat larger than the average village house, and for many years B maintained two homes - one in his coffee garden and one in the cocoa garden. D's home is much more elaborate than the others and contains crockery, cutlery and kitchen utensils worth over $50 as well as beds, chairs, tables and curtains which are almost never found among villagers. A has a modern cocoa fermentary worth $500, B has a coffee drying store and trays, estimated worth $80, and C a copra drier worth about $100.

By comparison with other Orokaiva people the entrepreneurs have few livestock, at least partly because they damage the root systems of the coffee and cocoa trees. A, B and C had none at all and D kept thirteen fowls from which he hopes to breed for commercial egg and poultry production. Householders at Inonda and Sivepe, by contrast, kept an average of two pigs and two to three fowls each.

At the request of the entrepreneurs, details of their individual holdings of cash are not included in this paper and can only be made available to researchers or to others with the permission of the entrepreneurs. All four have savings accounts, the average

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16]

[1] Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:44-5, Rimoldi 1966:25. Other comparisons in this section are drawn from the same sources.

657 647 177 Employed rather widely over the last decade or so, they have a responsible job, for which the qualifications include a reasonably high standard of education. In Orokaiva eyes, these men enjoy high status, as they have permanent, relatively highly paid positions and above all, because they control one of the most coveted European resources, namely motor transport. They very often have the power [499] to offer transport to Orokaiva travellers; their favours are eagerly sought; they carefully choose the men for whom they will stop on the road: kinsmen, residents of closely related villages, other men of high status.

Orokaiva accord high status to all Papuan employees of the government and the missions; one of the main reasons why men become, for instance, mission teachers is the high status they thus acquire in the villages where they are posted. This is so in spite of their very low pay; only recently has this low pay begun to deter recruits--due to the greater availability of higher-paid non-manual jobs for [875] Papuans. Mission teachers at Sasembata still regard themselves as aristocrats, who will speak somewhat deprecatingly of "the village people" and address them with some slight condescension. The best of them are most valuable as educators, not only in the religious sphere, but also through their knowledge of the outside world which they spread through their friendships with congenial villagers in the parish. They will also spread knowledge of elements of the culture of their own district, e.g., dances and songs, which are easily introduced into local repertoires. Most of the Sasembata mission teachers came from the Motu-speaking coastal district. One [799] problem with the mission stations has been, especially on the larger stations, that they develop into a sort of village of their own, a tight community with a deep conviction of its own superiority, not only because it is a mission village, but also because it is a Motu village and the Motu regard the Orokaiva as barbarians.

All the functionaries discussed so far are directly under the control of Australian institutions--the government and the church. The second category to be considered are Papuans playing roles for which they are elected or appointed by other Papuans. Within this category fall the members and officers of the Higaturu Local Government Council, the directors and manager of the coffee producers' cooperative, the local Member of the House of Assembly. None of these roles existed at the time of the eruption; they were created as part of the Australian policy, inaugurated in the 1950's, of preparing Papuans for at least local self-government and limited management of their own affairs. Though the views expressed by these officials hardly differed from those of the Government and Mission men, the Orokaiva received them much more warmly in their villages. Especially the councillors had to ingratiate themselves, their office being elective, and they handed cigarettes around. They were trusted far more than the government officials because the villagers felt they had some power over them; they were given local information withheld from the others.

657 Though most of the contacts between village people and the
647 office-bearers arise out of official roles, the local priest, the
197 assistant medical officer in charge of the Sasembata mission hospital, the mission teachers, the council's sanitary officer and others who lived near Sivepe, or temporarily stayed near Sivepe, tended to have at least one or two families with whom they were on mutual visiting terms and who regarded them as personal friends. At the same time, their relationship with many of the other Sivepe families remained definitely formal.

Contacts occurred almost always either in Sivepe or in a village nearby, on the initiative of the office-bearer (if the contact was official). Formal visits by councillors, sanitary inspector, [799] coffee factory officers occurred about once monthly. Contacts with Church personnel occurred almost daily at the mission station, though formal calls by the priest or a teacher to Sivepe were made perhaps once a month, usually in connection with some quarrel that [757] had arisen. The village was most active in its contacts with the mission hospital, several patients presenting themselves daily with minor ailments. Serious cases were often referred to Saiho hospital [743] and most of the referred cases actually went to Saiho. There was a [758] monthly visit from nurses dealing with infant health and expectant mothers; most of the mothers took their babies to be checked and weighed and no objections were made to preventive injections.

[582] There were no cases, in Sivepe, of inter-marriage between local people and Papuans occupying these specialized roles, but in Inonda one man married the mission teacher's daughter. Otherwise, contacts of the type described in this section were sparser in Inonda, as the mission and medical establishment was at Hohota, [232] three miles away, and on a far smaller scale. Inonda did have some direct contact with government over agricultural matters as one man expressed interest in entering an experimental scheme for growing beef cattle. He has adquate land and education, but the scheme had not gone beyond initial discussions by the time I left. [494] Finally, Inonda had an arrangement with a Papuan who was a distant affine and who had a truck with which he took garden produce weekly from Inonda to the Embi hospital. The village people paid this man for his cartage. No comparable arrangement existed in Sivepe. Finally, contact with the officers of the Local Government Council seemed to me less frequent in Inonda than in Sivepe and to generate much less interest. This was no doubt due to rivalries between the village leader and the councillor, but also to a less keen interest in council objectives on the part of the majority of families.

The contacts described in this section, unlike the ones 177 discussed earlier, do not characteristically occur in a kinship context. Hence, the contacts do not necessarily occur equally with all categories of members of the community, but when the problems have to do with land or politics or the conduct of village affairs, the married men are principally concerned; in educational matters